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THE MADRAS REVIEW

Editor: V. S. VENKATARAMAN.

No. 16. MADRAS, MAY 7, 1921.

Annual Subscription...Rs. 5
Half-Yearly " ... " 3

15 JUN 1921

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Not a week passes without our receiving a batch of some reprints from some publisher in India. While we have no doubt that reprints of newspaper articles in some handy form will have their uses, we emphatically protest against the general demoralisation which has set in in almost all the Indian publishing offices. To issue cheap reprints of the spawn of the daily press on the gossip of the day may be pardonable in a political propagandist, but we have a right to expect from well-known publishing houses something more solid—and something more profound. We want books which give new ideas on literature, art and drama, which explain the phenomenal growth of scientific knowledge, which deal with the myriad phases of man's wonderful life. The general level of public intelligence is lowered by the frequent publication of flippant writings. With many apologies to the publishers, may we ask them to raise the standard of their publications in the interest of our motherland?

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In a neat and crushing rejoinder to Mr. Sastri's vapourings in Allahabad, Lala Lajpat Rai has clearly set out the true mentality of the moderate leaders in India. He said that "there can be no doubt that the beauracracy is using the moderates but it cannot be said that the reverse is also true. If it ever happens that as a result of the unholy alliance between the Moderates and the beauracracy, the non-co-operation movement loses ground, the Moderates will again feel the pressure of the beauracrat's boots. The pressure of public opinion which has brought about the Reforms and which has placed the Moderates for the present at least on the heights of Olympus is not the pressure of the constitutional agitation of which Mr. Sastri is fond of but of the change in the mentality of the people brought about by Nationalist propaganda." This is a terrible indictment but every word of it is true. Lala Lajpat Rai said that Mr. Sastri takes credit for the policy of repression inaugurated by the Government of India. This is the price, we suppose, which Mr. Sastri paid to purchase his nomination to represent India at the Imperial Conference. There is nothing surprising in all this to those who know Mr. Sastri.

* * *

His Excellency the Viceroy has called for the records of the cases of those martial law prisoners who are still undergoing sentences. We anticipate that some of them will be released. In this connection, may it not be in consonance with justice, a word which Earl Reading has hacked to death since his appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty, to cancel the order prohibiting Mr. B. G. Horniman's return to India? If the Governments in India are doing everything in the right way, as they claim that they are doing, why should they be afraid of any publicist? It is nearly two years since Mr. Horniman was deported from Bombay and during all this time, the public was not fully appraised of the real gravamen of Mr. Horniman's offence which renders his continued absence from India a necessity. The ordinary man will naturally conclude that the Governor of Bombay is afraid of Mr. Horniman, who is a fearless exposer of the beauracratic wrongs. The new Viceroy must pursuade Sir George Lloyd to cancel the order of his Government against Mr. Horniman. The Secretary of State has assured Parliament that it is in the discretion of the Governor of Bombay to maintain or cancel this order. If Sir George Lloyd misuses his power on the score of Provincial autonomy, we say, let that provincial autonomy be d—d.

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They have a nice way of doing things in America. The Hon. Issaure Gabaldon, Resident Commissioner for the Phillipine Islands, was permitted to address the United States House of Representatives on March, 3, on the subject of Phillipine Independence. The speech is remarkable for the sound exposition of political principles and for its courageous insistence on the necessity of granting independence to the Phillipine Islands. We would refer our readers for a full report to the *Hindu* of the 29th April. Would the English Parliament have afforded the same measure of generous tolerance to a representative from India addressing it on the immediate need of granting Swaraj to India? We think not. Considering the manner in which the Members of Parliament howled against Mr. Montagu during the debate on the Jallianwalla massacre, we must say that they are more petulant of opposite views and very much less democratic than the members of the House of Representatives.

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To a representative of the *Daily Express*, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, C.I.E. was very frank in his expression of views concerning the work of the new councils and the gene-

ral attitude of the party in power in Madras towards public questions. Thecouncils have been worked, he said, with least success because the members of the Chetty party are more or less men of aristocratic views and are therefore incapable of taking a democratic view of things. Added to this, the great readiness of these men to introduce caste in politics and their well-known prejudice against Brahmanas stand in the way of harmonious cooperation inside the Council and render all effects futile. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is certain that the rank and file of the non-Brahmanas are sound and may be brought into progressive lines but the leaderhip must change. How can any party pretend to be representative of the people when it opposes popular measures which, if passed, will greatly benefit the poor taxpayers for the simple reason that those measures are brought forward by Brahmanas? Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's outspokenness has given a clear idea of the sort of men under whom the Reform Act is undergoing trial in Madras. We have reproduced the interview elsewhere.

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The Central Labour Board convened a public meeting in Madras for the purpose of considering the best means of strengthening the Labour Unions in this Presidency. The break-up of some of the Unions in this City and the firm determination of the capitalists to destroy the others make it imperative that leaders of all classes must join hands to support the Labour Board. The fact that Messrs. Binny & Co. have not yet withdrawn their civil suit against Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and other labour leaders makes it necessary that the condition of labour unions must be examined carefully and steps taken to unify and strengthen them. It is an inexplicable enigma to us how Mr. B. P. Wadia managed to cut himself away from his brethren in the field, though he knew well the critical situation of the Madras Labour Union, of which he was the President. It is tantamount to a betrayal of the cause of labour at a critical time and we thought that Mr. Wadia, at least, was not capable of it. Many things there are in heaven and earth which are not dreamt of in our philosophy.

* * *

Thanks to a benevolent Government, the only leading moderate who was unrewarded under the Reformed Government, has been pitchforked to a seat in the Indian Student's Committee. What are the qualifications of Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao for a seat in a committee which will have to tackle problems of education is a mystery to us. But like the members of the heaven-born service, the liberal leaguers are competent to occupy any place under the new era. If the cap does not fit the head, the head must be shaped to fit it. If the Nationalists and non-co-operators must be banned for their political views, why not at least choose a man who does not belong to that co-operating fraternity, *viz.*, the Liberal League. Madras easily supplies one such man in Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, who has not yet joined the Liberal League and who has been for a long number of years taking interest in educational problems. But the beauracracy in India is conspicious for blundering at inopportune moments. Let us say, in fairness to Mr. Ramachandra Rao that though he is one of the Anti's, he is not of the bragging sort. He would make an excellant member of a Committee on Local self-Government or Finance but not on education. He is a good man but not a bright man.

* * *

The tale of disturbances in Malegeon and Giridih is shocking. In both the places, the police officers seem to have been the victims of mob fury. At a time when the country was fast imbuing the real spirit of the non-co-operation doctrine, it is very regrettable that those disturbances should occur at all. If the facts as reported in the papers are true, there was no excuse whatever for the mob to kill the Sub-Inspector of police at Malegeon in the manner it has done and then beat some of the constables to death. This is nothing but anarchy in which the larger sufferers are the people themselves. We have not sufficient *data* to say whether these are the work of the Non-Coo-perators. Even if it were so, the whole movement cannot be condemned because some misguided people have taken the law into their own hands. Whatever may be the truth, such outrages must be unequivocally condemned by all lovers of the Non-co-operation movement.

* * *

For opposing the Non-Co-operation movement, the palm must be awarded among individuals to Mrs. Besant and among the Governments, to the Government of the United Provinces. We see every day that some sort of meeting is set up against Non-Co-operation and the new Ministers, with characteristic lack of humour, addressing such meetings. It is no longer Anti-Non-Co-operation propaganda, but it is to be Anti-revolutionary League. This sounds nice. If India suffers from any political malady, what business has she to suffer, much less, complain of her suffering when Englishmen come and Englishmen go and, at great sacrifice, live in this land of regrets. When we are doing everything for you, my dear fellow, why do you wan't to do it yourself? This must be the spirit at the bottom of those who are engaged in a counter-propaganda. The new Viceroy has asked for time to study Indian problems. Should not decency prompt these counter-organisers to wait for sometime more until the new Viceroy makes up his mind. But to expect decency from the Anti-Non-Co-operationists—no, we shall leave it at that lest we should provoke the ire of this gang.

* * *

Does any one, in these days, seriously take the views of Sir Surendranath Banerjee? From a great popular hero, no man has become such a fawning sychophant of the beaura-

cracy excepting, of course, a talented lady on this side of India. Sir Banerjee's fervour for prophesying is known to all readers of his speeches. Well, if all his previous prophesies are not fulfilled, that won't deter him from prophesying still further. The latest is that "when responsible Government has set to work...it will have sounded the death knell of Non-Co-operation etc." Quite truly so. But the complaint of the Non-Co-operator is that the present system of Government is still irresponsible inasmuch as popular representatives have not got sufficient power to redress the Punjab grievances, to repeal all repressive acts and to work in India as the Englishman is working in England.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

His Excellency the Viceroy, as soon as he landed in Bombay, asked the people to forgive him if he was unable, at that time, to make any definite pronouncements on Indian politics. It was thought very reasonable that Lord Reading must have time to study all things first hand instead of borrowing the views of the bearacracy in India. Lord Reading knew that his appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty at a very critical period in India's history had raised great hopes in the minds of the people. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement had scrupulously refrained from embarrassing the new Viceroy because their object was not and is not the embarassment of government as an end in itself but only as a means to the end of achieving Swaraj. Nobody would grudge some weeks' time to an Indian Viceroy to study Indian problems; but we must emphatically protest against the breaking of the truce on one side withoht due notice to the other. We shall explain.

It was thought that when Lord Reading spoke the words quoted above in Bombay he had taken the necessary precautions to instruct the local Governments under him not to take any hasty steps which might aggravate the present distemper. It was widely anticipated that Lord Reading had cried halt to a policy of repression until he had made up his mind and until, it was so rumoured, he called a Conference of the Indian leaders and discussed with them on the psesent situation. But, we are sorry to say, these hopes have been dashed to the ground. Lord Reading, beyond his dramatic visit to the Punjab and his feeble speech appealing for unity, has done nothing so far. It may be that he is still studying the Indian problem. But of what avail would his study be if, in the meanwhile, he allows the officials under him to carry on a campaign of repression? What will be his porition if the people of India are exasperated by the various acts of the local Governments, acts openly organised and deliberately carried out with the avowed object of killing the non-Co-operation movement.

Our object in writing thus is not to appeal to the Government to confer on the people any blessing. We only ask, let the people know where they stand under the new regime? If Lord Reading approves of the policy of repression carried on by local Governments, let his lordship say so. The sooner he says so, the better for the country and for the Government. But if the new Viceroy has not yet completed his study, is it not his duty to instruct the officers under him to stop the policy of repression? Every day reveals news that some speaker has been gagged. The situation is growing very difficult.

A real non-cooperator might retort that we were wrong in having placed any faith in the Government. The truth of this statement is becoming evident every day even to those who thought that with the change of Viceroyalty, there would be some change of policy. When Lord Reading was appointed, we stated that our attitude towards him would be neither one of presumption in his favour nor of prejudice against him. While maintaining the same attitude, we ask that fairness requires that the new Viceroy must speak out his mind and give the people a correct indication of the policy which the new Government purpose to adopt to wards the non-cooperation movement. The Indian political air would be cleared of much cant and both the Government and the people will know where they are. At present, there is a sort of vagueness on both sides.

We therefore ask that Lord Reading must no longer maintain his silence but must declare openly his policy towards the movement so that the Indian leaders may know where they stand and shapre their future policy and political work. Is it fair on the part of the new Viceroy to call for a truce and then break it by encouraging a repressive policy?

LAST WORDS.

My darling, this thy marriage day
Lights all my heart with pure delight.
May it, rekindling in thy heart,
Light up thy face in depths of night,
Grace thou thy husband's home with love,
And change even fair to wisdom's fruit.
Bear gently with his failings, child,
For souls of men are children mute.
And when the shades of evening close
Around your narrow prison-walls,
Take him in hand, and lead him on
To where *the voice* of freedom calls.

VIGIL.

The clouds are tinged with crimson light,
The sun drops through the silver sea.
The stars break out upon our sight,
From skies drawn tense, like arrows free.
Night's dusky wings enfold the earth,
That, tired with day-long play, seeks sleep.
And I, beside my lonely hearth,
Awaiting thee my vigil keep.
Pass not, my life, my lowly home,
While I of thee unconscious dream.
But, from behind, on tip-toe come,
And light my heart-room like a gleam.

K. G. Sankara.

A PROFESSOR—POET.*

By Mr. E. S. Sunda, B. A.

It was not a few couple of years ago that Mr. Seshadri surprised the educational world with his phenomenal successes. From the tutorship of the Pachayappas, he emigrated to Salem as the principal of the Municipal College, only to be lifted over to Benares as the chief of the premier and first Indian University. Such quick turns are not always in the path of the Madras collegiate teachers. Mr. Seshadri's career is a good instance of how merit by appealing to the popular suffrage, asserted itself and enjoys still the rare privileges due to scholars. The days of avowed seeking after literary men are gone. Industry combined with acute intelligence must come out of the closet and exhibit to the world its potentialities and probable achievements. Mr. Seshadri with his literary production allows himself to be judged by all and if he forestalled many with his gallop in the race of life, he holds his place still supported by popular recognition of his powers as a literateur.

In Madras, Mr. Seshadri is better known as literary critic than as a poet. Following the great masters of literary art, he took to 'original' production in fields other than criticism. His masterly preface to the poems of the forgotton *John Leyden* and his short monograh on *Anglo-Indian Poetry* are probably the best of his prose works. '*Champak leaves*,' his latest poetical work fell into my hands with author's affectionate compliments a few weeks ago. Two small brochures of his *Sonnets* and *Bithana* appeared in 1914. But the present volume outstrips the former in literary finish and polished thinking.

Mr. Seshadri is a product of the east and the west. To him the growth of an Anglo-Indian or Indo-English literature is almost a certainty—a fact gaining unmistakable evidence everyday. Steeping himself in the techniques of the English literary art, he is able to successfully transform Indian ideas to an English setting. Some incidental if not inevitable, difficulties in such an attempt he had to face. The *Champak Leaves*, is to my mind a noteworthy transplantation of Indian love in an English Atmosphere.

Fastitious critics may demur to his interpretation of Indian love. A charge he is imagining English social life when he represents Indian sentiments, will not be wholly unwarranted. That there is even a slight ambition to enjoy the festivities or the little mischiefs, the English Cupid is capable of affording, is evident in some of his lines. The conventional Indian life of silent love, a restrained expression of the passionate feelings in the wedded partners and a subjective, if not a philosophic enjoyment of love bordering almost on unemotionalism—do not appeal obviously to this Indian professor of English culture. It might be his wish to effect a change in the ideas of Indian social life affording a broader and a freer environment where the young partners in love could have their free play. A delicate sneer at the present state of things is noticeable in these lines.

" Thy lily hands I cannot hold
In love and press with warmth, nor could be bold
To touch thy rosy cheeks or curls that shine
In glossy smoothness—show one sign
Of Love's desire, because *the world is cold*
To love transcending common ways, such gold
Is counted sin that fits some darkling brine.

Aiming at a new and higher ideal of social dispensation which will guarantee greater mental peace and comfort, Mr. Seshadri is very insistent on the necessity and superior virtue of a wedding between two of equal beauty, culture and refinement. He believes in *this* world and he is every inch a robust optimist. Intellectual abstraction leading nowhere is not in his nature. Holding strong to this life of ours he states this as the first requisite—a pretty uniformity satisfying the ideals of esthetic equality.

"in Beauty's wake.
No Pilgrim sped with greater zeal than mine."

Riciprocity in love and happiness in domestic circles presupposes a mental consolation in the partners regarding their companion in life. Admiration or identification with each other born of an acute understanding will never be possible when one ceases to look up to the other. Is it not an everlasting despair, a "marital tragedy" ?

It grieves me sore that cruel fortune found.
No better partner for thy life, thy grace.
Was mated to that *rustic soul*...

....

It is hard to bear those sickly limbs twice round.
Thy slender body......
......I dread he might uprear.
His children too by thee—a sorry race.
Of mortals poor in limb brain and soul
Should niggard fate such darkened life unroll.
Before thy lovely youth such luckless days
Destine for thee who are good and so fair.

In Mr. Seshadri we find occasionally the Keatsian fondness to expand the physical beauty. A lover's expectation is finely imagined.

It is her anklets jingling in the stair.
That gentle snatch of song is hers. I hear
Even her *sari's* robe moving near.

He has not any way forgotten the nobler aspects of Indian womanhood. The militant spirit of Rajapat race which does not tolerate the wife accepting her defeated Lord from a battlefield the astounding courage of girls who choose the marriage bed of Kingly death to escape from the

**Champak Leaves* By. P. Seshadri M.A. Hindu University, Benares —Ganesh & Co., Madras.

clutches of detestable lovers and the proverbial pertinacity of a jealous wife sacrificing even God and immortality at the altar of love bear remarkable impress in *The Rani of Ganore Tissaratshita's jaalousy*. Of the pathos of Indian love and its unexpected end, Mr. Seshadri was not unconscious. The calamity of the Indian widows moves him to sing the *Lattice window, Sorrow* and *Widowed*. Naturally he hates the surrender of family life cruelly infatuated by religious fanaticism a girl turning a nun. An unforeseen calamity has to be borne, why should it be courted? The world with its pleasures is for the benefit of the occupants. Why this mortifying self-denial? The pleasures of sweet home, prettily managed by little hands or a fair maid thrill the professor's heart.

Desist, sweet girl, the convents narrow room.
Must never close upon that lovely form
Of matchless youth......

....

The wise creator meant thee for a bride.
To cheer some happy home with joy and love.

The leading poem in the series *At the Temple* is reminiscent of our conversation within the Shri Meenakshi Temple Madura whither he came a few years back on a solacing mission to his convalescent brother. The piece is remarkable for it suggestiveness and it at once defines the creed of the author.

'A lovely partner in life's ways.'

Two pieces which appear rather inappropriate in this collection of *Legend of Sarnath* and *Jehangir and Little Children*, An echo from Tagore is vouchsafed to us in the 'Orphan Boy'-clad in rags and woe-begone. A *quasi*-politico-social poem is the *Sisters wail* referring to the woes of the Indentured Labourers in Fiji. A slight lapse in the expression of an idea in the first of the two poems can be noted. "I long for the glimpses of my native *land*." Land is not the proper word that could be expected from a wailing Indian girl. The author recognises the fault and in the second poem '*land*' gives place to '*native village home*.'

A reference to the system of being a yellow cord in *Sravan* is made in *Raksha Bandan* and is indicative of the affectionate hold which sisters of Indian homes have over the family members. Are there wishes purer than a sister's care? The love for the new bride is only gradual.

Mr. Seshadri has freely drawn many of his poems from *Tod's Rjasthan Kalidasa's Raghavamsa* and some are inspirations from the painting's of the Bengal School of artists. He brings in his poems a new conception of social fabric. Allowing the skeleton of Indian life to stand as it is, he would like to gloss it with new sentiment and ideals that would promote the life of the couple. To get the best of wedded happiness is his teaching. It is *not all life* and many are apt to differ from him. Such an exclusive pleasure and an intense individualism in ideas of domestic life are really new and they are as much the product of western culture as the ideal or separate life is. Mr. Seshadri is prepared to barter everything for domestic happiness. He would enter the Land of Death if it promises a "woman's enrapturing smile and books of song to soothe listless soul." A material outlook of life based on intense optimism in the joys of the world comes with great force and novelty in this age of mysticism and the encouragement of what is called the Orient cult in literature. Mr. Seshadri deserves our warmest thanks and our heartiest congratulation on the new turn he has given in his songs. It is quite possible that his "cloud capped domes like the unoped tomes may lure his scholar's mind and take him to "other worlds and pastures new." And gently walking along Bolupura, as he reads this friendly criticism he may softly whisper himself 'Cui Bono.' But he remembers his friends with kindness. Writes he.

When others greet you with well set praise
Or sing of you in sweeter words and ways
Will you preserve a kindly thought for one .
Whose loving friendship is ever thine.

THE DRINK EVIL.

By Mr. C. F. Andrews.

I have just come across this most apposite statement, quoted by the 'Indian Witness' of Lucknow from the speech of Lord Chesterfield in the House of Lords, in 1743, against the British Excise and Licence revenue derived from intoxicating drink. It reads as follows:—

"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice must be prohibited. Let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Will you lay a tax on the breach of the Commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous, because it would imply an indulgence to all those who would pay the tax? This Bill [to license liquor-shops for the sale of revenue] contains the conditions, on which the people are to be allowed henceforth to riot in debauchery, licensed by law and countenanced by magistrates. For, there is no doubt, but those in authority will be directed by their masters to assist in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected.

"When I consider, my Lords, the tendency of the Bill, I find it only for the propagation of disease, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. I find it the most fatal engine that was ever pointed at a people—an engine, by which all those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their wits will be deprived of their senses."

Lord Chesterfield was no Puritan, his own morals were not high, if judged by the Christian standard. But this licensing of gin-shops, for the sake of revenue, was too much for him. With remarkable precision, he then pointed out exactly what would happen, if a Bill were passed in England. The

authorities, he said, were bound to endeavour to increase the revenue. In this way, they would promote the liquor-traffic itself, and become panderers to vice. We know for certain this has happened in England. We know, also, that England has imported this evil into India, and that the British Empire in India has been built up, with liquor-traffic as one of its financial foundations and with opium-traffic as another. So true is this that the argument openly used in the Behar Legislative Assembly by the Executive members of the Council was, in so many words, that the Government could not be be carried on without its 'drink' revenue.

In the Government of India Legislative Assembly, the answer given by Sir William Vicent was more non-committal than that given in Behar. When the question was asked :—

"Is there any truth in the allegation, that men have been prosecuted for preaching temperance?" Sir William instantly replied,—

"Certainly not! Government has never opposed any one advocating the cause of temperance only. When voilence is used then persons are prosecuted.'

This is all very well as a copy book maxim. But when the Government of India make a profit each year of 17 crores of rupees out of its licensing and excise for liquors and drugs,' and when Government has a special department, whose sole interest it is to collect this revenue, and when promotion in this service depends largely on the effectiveness of revenue collection, is it not certain that what Lord Chesterfield predicted will happen? It it not certain that, "those in authority will be directed by their masters to assist in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected?"

Again, if this is the actual position and standing of Government officials as collectors of revenue from drink and drugs; if their profession is of such character that promotion depends upon effective collection, then, is it not a foregone conclusion (human nature being what it is) that these officials will endeavour to the utmost of their power to prevent forcibly voluntary temperance workers, who wish to reclaim drunkards, from carrying on their beneficent work? What is easier than to trump up a charge of violence or intimidation against them, and have them stopped or imprisoned by law?

Before coming out to India, when I was quite young, I lived among the very poor for many years in Sunderland and in South East London. My room, in which I lived and slept, was in their midst and I knew everything that was going around me. I have no hesitation in saying that five sixths of the misery, the destitution, the crime, the sickness, and even infantile mortality, which I thus saw with my own eyes, was due to intemperance. This intemperance was being fostered by the all-powerful licenced Victualler's Trade, which was carried on under the direct licence of the British Government, and with an yearly profit to Government that ran into more than a hundred million pounds sterling, even in my own recollection of nearly 30 years ago.

Those sights, which I saw then—nay, those sights which I *lived* among then—have been branded on my memory for all time. They can never be effaced! The horror of them can never be forgotten as long as I live—never! Only those who know the drunkenness of the slums of London can understand what I have described. In India during these latter years of my life, since I landed at Bombay in March, 1904, I have seen a steady increase of intemperenee in almost every part of the country, which I have visited. When I first came out, I wrote in one of my books. "I have never *once* seen in the streets an Indian drunkard"! Alas. I could not write this to-day. I have seen drunkenness wide-spread in *Perambur*, among the Madras labourers, it was not an uncommon sight in Bombay, I have seen it also in Calcutta. And I have witnessed the same miserable spectacle in the country-districts, also—men intoxicated with country liquor I have seen Indian women intoxicated also. Still further, in this very district where I live, in Bengal, the whole countryside has deteriorated, owing to two main causes, (i) malaria, and (ii) the drink and drug habit, which has been steadily and insidiously increasing.

Our student workers have been making a noble effort to get the villagers to give up intoxicant. The people have now abandoned drink in large numbers, and license-holders of liquor shops under Government, have approached me and asked me whether they can throw up their licenses as they do not wish to go on any longer with the drink traffic. The question is now going to be put to the licensing authorities themselves, whether they are ready to allow licenses to be cancelled, we shall find out how far Sir William Vincent's maxim holds good when he said:

"Certainly not, Government have never opposed any one advocating the cause of temperance only".

Will Government oppose these repentant liquor vendors?

The following quotation from "The World and New Dispensation" seems to sum up the whole matter. It writes: "The majority of Hindus are teetotallers by nature, and to the true Moslem, religious instruction notes drink *haram*. Shall not, then, Hindus and Moslems join hands in forcing the Government to abolish the excise altogether?...Now that the country as a whole is working towardsthis end, letus concentrate our efforts, and push forward the work through the press, the pulpit, and (wherever possible) through chosen bands of workers. Behold the light of heaven in the country to-day! Behold the spirit of God walking and working among the people." *Young India.*—

THE GOSPEL OF THE SPINNING WHEEL.

BY MR. T. PRAKASAM.

The creed of the Non-Co-operation movement is to make the industry of cotton and the spinning wheel the true sphere of religious duty: that religious duty is to make all life unselfish by living for "Humanity as the only source of man's happiness". Mahathma Gandhi and the Congress have analysed the exact conditions of social co-operation in production of cotton and yarn on the wheel and they have the conclusion that the economic solution depends upon the distribution of at least 20 lakhs spinning wheels, to begin with, in the next two months into the poor homes and turning out the yarn required for the vast majority of the country on the same. There is no shame or disgrace involved in the business of spinning. Those who spin are as much employed in the service of the country as the manufacturer and even the so-called Indian Ministers and the Executive Councillors and Indian Governors. Maulana Mahomed Ali said that about hundred years ago we purchased our slavery when the spinning wheel was thrown aside. I have no doubt, that we can regain our freedom by organizing the industry of the spinning from top to bottom with a view to the greatest general benefit of the people. There is no good of making an attempt to secure such a benefit by artificial means but it must be secured by making it part of the education, part of religion, and part of public opinion as directed by Mahatma Gandhi. Spinning must form a compulsory subject in all National shools and in every home. More than one hour must be devoted to this. I could mention one National High School at Ongole where there are forty spinning wheels working. Every one of the 150 students does it as a compulsory subject for more than two hours. With the yarn which they are making, they are making the cloth. All the students have made this, part of their religious duty. I could not request Mahatma Gandhi to visit this school as his programme was so over-crowded in the Andhra Desa on the last occasion. I hope Mahatmaji will find time to visit this place in his next trip. This must be made compulsory not only in schools for boys and girls but in every home and family. For the mere prospect of this item of our programme taking effect, Lord Ampthill an Ex-Governor of Madras burst out, sometime ago, almost into tears saying that, if this item of the Non-Co-operation programme should take effect, mills specially erected in England for making yarn for India would have to be pulled down that lakhs of workmen would be thrown out of employment, that work for railways and even ships would suffer and that even ships-building would be effected. Fancy, what a picture it is! Look again at the attack of the Lancashire deputation of Mr. Montague on the 23rd of the last month. What happened? In the last Budget of the Government of India there was a small duty imposed on cotton goods not as a protective one, but "merely for revenue purposes." This was misunderstood as a protective duty imposed upon Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and other neighbouring places of cotton and spinning industry in pursuance of the policy of Fiscal Autonomy granted or supposed to have been granted to India with the last Reforms. I put it in the alternative because, Mr. Montague himself says that it was a convention established by the report of the Selborne Committee and referred to the statement of Lord Curzon that India had been given "what practically amounted to Fiscal Autonomy." There is no doubt that Mr. Montague fought an honest and successful battle on this point with this deputation. So long as there is no provision in the Act the real trouble arises when Mr. Montague and Lord Curzon drop out of the scene and other commentators step in. Did we not know how the Queen's Proclamation had been interpreted and given effect to in the past. All this is by the way. I have been dealing with the attitude of the cotton and spinning merchants and the workmen of Great Britain. The deputation consisted of :—

1. The Federation of Master cotton spinner's association, Manchester.

2. Allied Association of bleachers, dyers, printers and finishers, Manchester.

3. United Textile Factory workers' Association.

4. Capitalists, manufacturers, brokers and shippers of Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire and other places.

This deputation charged Mr. Montague with having sacrificed Lancashire and the other shires by allowing the India Government to increase the customs duty however insignificant it might be. Mr. Montague was charged with having violated the undertaking given in 1917 to Lancashire, that no further increase in cotton duties would be allowed in India without prior consultation with Lancashire. I quote this to show that Lancashire and other places having destroyed our indigenous spining wheels and weaving looms and having built mills in their country 6000 miles away from our home, established their supremacy and power superior to those of India Government and even the Secretary of State on the ashes of our spinning wheel and looms. If not, how could this Secretary of State have given an undertaking in 1917 to Lancashire that no increase duty would be levied without previous sanction of Lancashire? You can see from this that it is Lancashire and other places that have reduced us to this conditon of economic slavery which has mixed itself up hopelessly with our political bondage. Look here again what the deputation tells Mr. Montague. This time a labour speaker M. Robinson charged Mr. Montague saying that the operatives (labourers) were in entire agreement with the employers and would work shoulder to shoulder with their masters. He said that over two lakhs operatives in Lancashire were without work and were in receipt of doles since they had returned from the war and that they had not had even an hour's work. Another labour representative Mr. Cross told Mr. Montague that the increased cotton duty hurt

the employees even more than it did the employers. Finally Mr. Montague was warned that he could not ignore the temper of the Lancashire workers and the workers were determined to see the thing through to the end. Now gentlemen, just imagine over what, so much warmth and heat of the Lancashire spinning and weaving merchants, were spent just a month ago. Not over prohibition of their exports into our country nor any restrictions imposed upon the quantity to be exported but over an insignificant increase of the amount of the Cotton duty of the English goods solely for the purpose of Indian revenue. You may fancy now what the fate of Lancashire would be if the much—ridiculed and despised spining wheel should be worked by every patriotic Indian home. You may now picture to yourselves how many Englishmen would be thrown out of employment by the working of the spinning wheels in our own homes and how many more millions of our people who are to day almost naked, not being able to find cloth even to cover their loins, would be clothed by the spinning wheel. It is for this reason that our leaders called the spinning wheel "munitions" which could reach the very heart of the rank and file of the enemy over a distance of 6,000 miles. The use of the word 'munition' by Maulana Mahomed Ali caused considerable excitement in certain quarters in Madras for no reason. The munitions of spinning wheel cannot shed blood like the machine guns or the bombs. If the spining wheel cannot be a sufficient weapon to secure Swaraj for us sooner or later, it is unthinkable why the leader of the Anti-Non-Co-operation Movement should lose his balance so much over it. The same person called up on his party to go out to the country to tell the people that the weapon of the spinning wheel is the very old one and that it was stolen by the leader of the Non-Co-operators from the armoury of the anti-non-co-operators. Where has the Anglo-Indian leader of the Anti-Non-Co-operation Movement of Madras been keeping the wheel for over 100 years? He either buried it underground or threw it into debris while, all along, he has treacherously erected mills in his own country in the place of the spinning wheel and reduced this land of ours to political and economic slavery. Certainly the spinning wheel which is more valuable than the Regalia of Scotland has been stolen by the Providence through the hands of Mahatma Gandhi from the secret possession of Anglo-India. It has not only been stolen but the gospel of the same has been carried toe very home in every village, town and city within a few weeks. Men, women, boys and girls are already singing the balladas of the spinning wheel in the farthest nook and corner of our continent. I hope that every man and woman, boy and girl of the Kerala province would work the wheel with religious devotion and show the effect of it on the establisment of Swaraj at the end of the year.

Kerala Provincial Conference.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, C.I.E., M.L.C.

If measures of social reform are brought forward by the members of the party in power in the Madras Legislative Council as it is probable that they will be in the near future, what attitude will be Brahmin members of the council adopt towards such measures? A broad indication of their probable attitude will be found in the appended interview which a *Daily Express* representative has been able to obtain from Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, C. I. E., who is the elected representative of the Madras University Constituency in the local Legislative Council.

Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, (writes our representative) is one of the most distinguished Indians of his generation in several walks of life. As a lawyer he is one of the most brilliant, as a politician one of the most eminent, and as social reformer one of the most prominent. He is an "intellectual" of the best modern type who combines in himself all that is best in the culture of both the West and the East. He is an aristocrat by birth, but a democrat to his finger-tips by temperament. There is in him neither artifice nor artificiality, no pose, no affectation and no partronising condescension. He is absolutely human his *bon homie* is perfect. He puts one at his ease in an instant. It was a pleasure to interview him. His answers to my questions will strike different people in different ways, but there can be no two opinions as to the transparent sincerity and flawless courtesy of the man himself.

Q.—May I know the reasons which impelled you to resign your Presidentship of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association?

A.—I have stated my reasons in my letter which has already appeared in the Prss. Shortly put, I did not believe that I could do any social reform work, as co-operation with the party which was wedded to running politics on a caste basis was practically impossible and went against my conscience. The party in power here, while claiming that it is for social reform, seeks to enforce its caste exclusiveness in every department of official and political life.

Q.—Do you not think that the non-Brahmin movement is rather the effect of the caste system and not its cause?

A.—Certainly. But there were several other reasons, good, bad and indifferent, for its coming into existence. So far as the rank and file of the non-Brahmins are concerned, I have no doubt it is their feeling that they are in every way equal to Brahmins that is responsible for the movement, just as the feelling of all Indianss that they are equal to Europeons and their resentment of anything which expresses or implies that they are inferior in any manner to the latter has been responsible for Indian Nationalism. This is really the legitimate and fundemental aspect of the Non-Brahmin movement with which I am in entire agreement. But the desise to secure places and power on the ground of caste and alliance with

the bureaucracy are prominent features of the lead that is being at present given to the movemeut by the most organised and influential of the non-Brahmin parties. I believe in Indian Nationalism and do not believe that any kind of sectarianism can do good even as a method or as a means. Caste in politics and administration is to my mind far more dangerous than castc in society or religion and must necessarily perpetuate caste in all aspects of Indian life. I do not believe that the party inpower is at heart democratic or is anxious for nationalism. The leading men concerned in the movement are all men of aristocrtic birth and inclinations. I have no doubt it will eventually mean the safeguarding of capitalists and vested interests and not the uplift of the lower middle class and the poorer classes of the community. I found from my experience in the Legislative Council that, however sound democratic and beneficial to the vast bulk of the non-Brahmin community a resolution moved by a Brahmin was, the tendency of the party in power and its supporters was to oppose it. I hope, however, that the non-Brahmin members of the Legislative Council will not in the next session follow the unwise lead that has been given to them. The Reform Act has been worked with the least amount of success and the true purpose of Dyarchy has been made most manifest in Madras and I have no doubt that so long as the party in power lasts, nobody need have any faith in the reformed Legislative Council.

Q.—But the rank and file of the non-Brahmin party are drawn exactly from the lower middle and poorer classes of the non-Brahmin commuity. If, as you say, their leaders depart from the democratic social prininciples which they have been preaching hitherto, is it not likely that the rank and file will rise against them and put an end to their influence?

A.—Certainly. And that is exactly the consummation which every true patriot, social worker and domocrat desires.

Q.—I take it that your resignation of the Presidentship of the Social Reform Association does not in any way mean that any change has come over your views on social reform?

A.—Certainly not. I adhere to all my views on social reform. But as I said, I feel it impossible, in the face of the aggressive communal politics of this province, to do any genuine social work implying love and co-operation between all sections of the community.

Q.—Some of the members of the non-Brahmin party have informed me that they are already working at some measures of social legislation and that some of these will be introduced by them in the Council in the near future. May It know what your attitude will be towards these measures?

A.—I must and shall support them. I, however, doubt the wisdom of any party which wants caste in politics introducing social legislation. There must be more of love and goodwill between the two communities and less of this bitter strife before social legislation will receive that whole hearted support of the whole community to which it is entitled. I should deprecate social legislation being put forward merely for the purpose of communal warfare I should welcome it if it is put forward as part of constructive statesmanship inspired by desire for unity and all the other higher ideals of Indian Nationalism. Moreover, woman suffrage which was one piece of social reform legislation that was done by the legislative Council at its last session was not due to the party in power. On the contrary, everyone in the Council saw that the party in power fought shy of it and did not know what to do, while two or three leading men of the party while they professed to approve of the principle, showed clarly by the limitation that they appeard to desire that the resolution should be either defeated or materially modified. I admit, however, that most of the non-Brahmin M. L. C's voted for it. Again, it is obvious that the party in power is opposed to any radical refrom in Abkari policy. If Temperance is not to be the first item in social reform. I do not think that I can consider the party in power is really serious as regards other items of social reform.

PHILLIPINE INDEPENDENCE.

The following is the concluding portion of the speech of the Resident Commissioner, Phillipine Islands, referred to in our editoriol notes:—

The Fillipino people have stable government to-day. It is elected by the people and supported by the people. It maintains order and administers justice. It can fulfill its international obligations.—It is patterned after rebublican institution. It has the necessary checks and balances. It is run on the party system. It combines the fine traits of American institutions and the virile attributes of theEnglish because it has substituted the budget for the ordinary system of appropriation, and it practises the system of parliamentary responsibility. It is anchored on the enduring bedrock of constitutional Government —public opinion.

Clearly there exists in the Philippines at present the conditions of order and Government which America has for nearly a century and a half required in all cases in which she has recognized the independence of a country of the establishment of a new Government.

What more, throughout the entire recordof over 20 years, positive facts can be found demonstrating the full capacity of the Filipinos for self-Government and national independence.

In the plan of a general free education and of sanitary improvements; in the vast public-works programme with respect to roads and bridges, public buildings, and irrigation system; in the fostering of agriculture, industry and commerce, including the povision of banking facilities, port improvements, and an adequate system of transportation by land and sea; in the establishment of an

efficient civil service and an independent judiciary; in the constant development of self-Government in the local organization and the central Government and in the adoption of measures for the free and orderly exercise of the popular suffrage; in the exercise in fine of all the political powers entrusted to the Filipinos no effort has been spared to promote the public good. Any unprejudiced critic will find after an impartial examination that our people in managing their own affairs can maintain law and order and afford equal protection to all whether foreigners or nationals.

But not alone do Filipinos claim the existence of a stable Government in the Philippine Islands to-day. America's highest official in the islands for the last seven years Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison supports this claim. In testifying before a joint committee of the Congress on June 3, 1919, he said:—

I wish to state upon my responsibility as the Governor-General that in my opinion there exists to-day in the Philippine Islands a stable Government which I think should answer the requirements laid down by Presidents Grant and Mc Kineley and as I understand it also by Mr. Root, namely a Government elected by the suffrages of the people which is capable of maintaining order and of fulfilling its international obligations.

The President of the United States has also officially reported, the existence of a stable Government to the Congress. In his message of December 7, 1920 President Wilson stated:

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have suceeded in maintaining a stable Government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a considaration of granting independence to the islands. I respectfully submit that this condition precedent as having been fulfilled. It is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honourably covet.

Gentleman of the House, it is on the above premises that the Filipino people predicate their righteous claim to freedom. We feel that to be independent is our birthright. By the terms of your immortal Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed; by the terms of the official promise of independence embodied in a law of Congress and by the avowal of America in the recent World War that it was championing the right of every people to chose the sovereignty under which they shall live, as well as the right of smaller States to enjoy that respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity which the powerful nations insist upon —by all these tokens America cannot now consistently refuse to grant independence to the Philppine Islands.

OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA TO SHOW CONSISTENCY.

At the time when the world was engaged in the realignment of national boundaries; in the settlement of the most stupendous dispute that the world has ever known, the Congress of the United States had presented before it no less than 30 resolutions expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people, if not actually urging England to grant independence to Ireland. At that time also, the Filipinos were knocking at your door. The awswer was that the world was in a state of flux and change. Even now there are multitudes of Americans who would risk their all if only the Republic of Ireland could be made a reality. Out of the womb of war many European Republics were also born and America has rejoiced to uphold the same because she knew it was her job. And yet the claim of the Filipinos is still unheeded. Must there be exceptions, then in international justice? Must the heart of America beat only for the freedom of Ireland, of Poland and of the Czecho-Slovaks and not for the independence of the Phillipine Islands?

We are told that Japan is at our door; that Japan is bent on a career of aggression for more dominion, that the moment American sovereignity is withdrawn Japan will seize us in her iron claw. All sorts of intentions are being imputed to the Nipponese Empire. Whether the Japanese menace exists or not admits of much debate. But if it exists in fact is it not equally clear that that menace will never disappear by merely talking about it? If the granting of Philippine independence must be postponed until such a menace disappears is it not equivalent to refusing to grant independence for ever since Japan will always be right where she is to-day? Surely American igenutiy in solving national or international problems will not stop at merely talking about Japanese wiles and Japanese aggressive intentions. The present Premier of Japan has made assurance that in case independence is granted to the Fillipino people Japan will be the first to sign an agreement guaranteeing the integrity of a Philipine Republic. The channels of diplomacy are, therefore, wide open whereby the territorial integrity of an independent Philippines could be adequately safeguarded.

Why then does America tarry? Why may not negotiations be started now leading to the concession of our promised liberty?

My plea, therefore, gentleman of the American Congress, is that you ignore no longer the repeated pleas of a deserving people for an independence that rightfully belongs to them. The granting of Philipine independence now affordsthe United States a golden opportunity to give the world unanswerable proof of its sincerity its consistency and its altruism. It will be the greatest example of international square dealing in the history of the ages.

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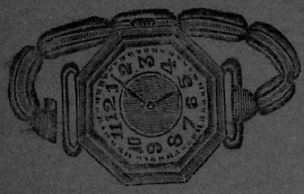

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Printed at the Commercial Press and Published by V. S. Venkataraman at 61, Bazaar Road, Royapettah.